682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[692] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the aménokal, who was aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[766] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever. It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
763 sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[291] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
[567] wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[483] The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
● 417 place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side with the face turned in the direction of Mecca,

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Air

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Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania
233 in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to
[342] similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and
[565] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above
[184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different
[192] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheren*, sing. *Amacher*). I have also

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*233 The actual number of such terms is not known to me, and the Tuareg say they are almost innumerable.
192 A colour term connected with an age term will, as mentioned above, generally be sufficient to describe the appearance of any animal, but colour terms have practical value also in another sense. They are, as the Tuareg put it, like names of men and dogs, and are used by the women to call individual animals to be milked. The names are then followed by a special sound (cf. p. 39, 135).

It is remarkable how intimately goats are attached to their masters. If the flock, as often happens, is grazing alone at some distance from the camp in the evening after darkness, it will immediately gather round the tents, when a special cry is uttered, or if the dogs bark. On the utterance of another cry by the goatherd the whole flock of goats will follow her quickly. On the whole goat herding is easy, and even very big flocks can be guarded by a single boy, or a girl. Kids still too young to follow the flock during grazing normally browse around the camp all day. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer these kids will not, as a rule, be let out of the sight of the camp, but this is not so in Ayr where vegetation is very dense in the river valleys. Kids in the latter area easily get lost and eaten by the numerous jackals. In order to know where the kids are a woman, while occupied with her domestic task in the tent, utters at short intervals a sharp, shrill cry to which the kids respond by bleating loudly.

*233 Goats are chiefly useful for the milk they provide. In general, goat-breeding is organized in such
[234] a way that the maximum possible milk is obtained by the nomads, and kids are allowed to suck freely only for a short period after birth. At this period a kid is known as *asarwas*, which term is used for all sucklings without restriction. The duration of the entire period of suckling is dependent on the pasture. If grazing is good, the kids will suck for two to four weeks, while under severe conditions the period of suckling may be up to two months.

To prevent kids from drinking more than their proper share of milk the Tuareg use various devices.
*233 In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer small kids are frequently placed in stone enclosures (*agror*). Such
● 4/7 enclosures are also used to prevent kids from following the mother animals when the flock leaves the camp for grazing in the morning, and they serve as a protection against beasts of prey during the night. They are about one metre high, and have a diametre of about one metre (cf. Fig. 17). Similar stone enclosures are said to exist among the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg but not elsewhere in Ayr, where the Tuareg generally make larger round enclosures from boughs of thorny acacias, so that one enclosure is big enough for all kids of a household. These enclosures are often known as *zeriba* (Ar.), but the proper Tuareg name is *afarag* (in the north *afarağ*). They are said to be used also by certain Northern
*233 Tuareg who camp in the lowland where acacias are common. To prevent small kids from running away, get lost or eaten by jackals, the Tuareg may attach them to a tree or to one of the tent-posts by one of their hind legs, which attachment is known as *témdit* among the Ayr Tuareg. Kids are also sometimes tied with a cord around their necks to prevent suckling when the mother animals are resting in the camp. If there are very few kids they are frequently attached to individual cords (sing. *témetrek*), but several kids are also frequently tied to one and the same cord, which is then known as *éseddi* or *aseddi*. Such a cord has several loops into which the heads of the kids are put, while the other end
[171] of the cord or rope is fastened to pegs or trees. These methods are not only practised by the Tuareg. I have frequently seen them in use also among pastoral Arabs of the Sahara and of the Algerian High Plateau.

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Fig. 17. A slave-boy takes kids out of the stone-enclosure (*agror*) to let them suck. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*233 yielding decreases after mating. It is said that some goats yield milk in the whole period of gestation, while others have no milk whatever during most of that period.

The advantage of free mating is further reduced because goats, if mated too often, become emaciated, and for the northern breed their coat of long hair, so important to craft (cf. p. 263 ff.), will not develop fully. Added to this, kids born in the hot summer season will often be of inferior quality, as they suffer from heat and the lack of fresh annual plants during their period of growth. Again, the mother animals may yield so little milk in summer that it is not even sufficient for the nourishment of their kids.

The free mating of goats is not generally desirable, and therefore most Tuareg practise a system of regulation which varies with the qualities of pastures. If reproduction of the flock is badly needed it may happen that all goats are mated twice a year, but it is considered an ideal in good years to divide the animals into two parts which bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons.

*233 In Ayr when the flock is divided into two parts to bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons,
132 one part brings forth kids during the season of *akasa* when the pastures of annual plants are very
[137] rich, the other at the end of the winter season during the period known as *tabsit* at which time certain other plants germinate, and fruit-pods of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*), which are extremely good for fodder, fall to the ground. If kids are wanted for a flock during the season of *akasa*, which is the best season for the birth of kids, the goats are mated in winter. When all the she-goats have been covered, the penis of the he-goat is bound around the foreskin by means of a cord – a method which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ékkan*, to the Northern Tuareg as *urun* (cf. Fig. 25). If kids are wanted for a flock in spring at the season of *tabsit*, mating stops with the binding of he-goats at the

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or Ingal) for selling, they are also frequently provided with a wooden prong (*aburi*) loosely attached around one foreleg to prevent them running away. I have never seen this practised among the Fulani who have much more control over their cattle than have the Ayr Tuareg.

Cows continue to bring forth calves and yield milk until they are about 15 years old, and the duration of their life is estimated at about 20 years. But it is considered appropriate to keep milch-cows until they are ten or twelve years old when they should be sold or killed. The period of gestation for cows is about ten months, and there is no regulation of mating. The Tuareg say that cows will be on heat and mate again shortly after the birth of a calf, and that milk-yielding does not stop until five months after mating. Free mating of the cows agrees well with Tuareg interests as prices of calves are high.

Milking of cows takes place twice daily and is generally done by women – in rare cases by men. Milking is performed as follows:— Just before the herd returns from grazing in the evening every calf is firmly attached to a tree by means of a cord (*témetrek*) around its neck so that it cannot reach the udder of the mother cow. When milking is to take place the mother cow is attached to the same tree by means of a cord (*aran*) around its horns. The calf's rope is now loosened and it will immediately start to suck while the milk-maid fastenes another rope or cord (*akarab*) around the hind legs of the cow. When this is done the calf is attached to its tree again, and milking begins. The milk-maid squats at one side of the cow (generally at the right side) holding the large milking bowl (*akabar*) (Fig. 37) between her legs and knees, and milks with both hands (Fig. 29). When the milk-maid has taken the milk she wants she releases the calf to let it drink what is left in the udder, but the calf is thereupon attached to its tree again in order that it may not suck during the night. Before the cows leave the camp in the morning milking is performed again as just described, but it may happen that the cows leave for grazing already during the night, and they are then not milked again until next evening. Tuareg who possess a great many calves may guard them within a so-called *zeriba* (*afarag*) made of thorny acacia boughs.

Most cows will not yield milk unless they have their calves close to them. If a cow loses its calf it may be replaced with the calf of another cow so that milking can be done, but it is also common to use the so-called dummy-calf (*azeyuz*) made from the dead calf's skin stuffed with hay. This puppet is then set close to the cow which is deceived by it. It feels that its calf is standing by, it licks the skin, and milking can then be done without much difficulty.

The dummy-calf is not used by the zebu-owning agriculturists of Ahaggar, though I have met one of these *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) who had once made a calfskin-puppet after he had seen the method practised among *Iforas* Tuareg at Kidal. The method of blowing into the cow's vulva is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *askuf*; it is used particularly for cows which are difficult to milk shortly after the birth of a calf. During migrations, when young calves march together with the mother cows, suckling is prevented by means of a piece of dum palm leaf attached around the calves' mouths. Such an attachment known to the Ayr Tuareg as *adabar* may be used also for other domestic animals.

Weaning of calves takes place according to one of the following methods:— (1) *ikembar*, that is cuttings made with a knife in two or three places on the bridge of the calf's nose. The wounds of these cuts hurt the calf when it tries to suck, but the method is effective only for a very short period until the wounds have healed. On adult animals the scars of these wounds appear as small bumps (Fig. 30).

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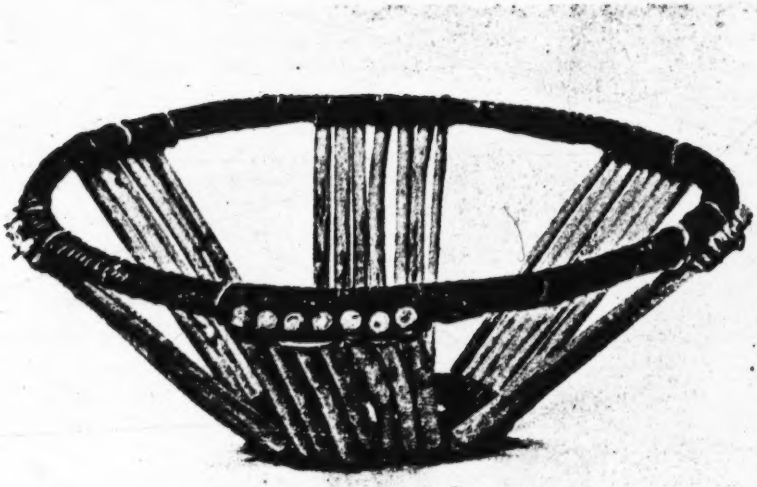

Fig. 152. Circular wooden frame to support milk-bowls and other food-containing vessels. The frame is attached to the roof of the mat tent or rests upon sticks (cf. Fig. 291). This is done in order that food and food-vessels shall not be damaged by the numerous ants. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.44 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6663).

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Tuareg but also by the southern groups and by Arab pastoralists of the Sahara; it is also known in the Atlas, and is on the whole widely distributed in Northern Africa. This type of cheese is known to the Northern Tuareg as *takammart* and it is manufactured as follows:— Fresh milk is heated and then poured into a large wooden bowl (e.g., *tarehut*) (Figs. 195a–b). The milk is curdled into a mass of cheese by means of a rennet (*akammar*) consisting of the abomasum of kids that have never tasted anything but milk. The curdled mass of cheese is pressed with the hands and with a piece of straw-mat (*éseber*) in order that the liquids may separate. The mass of cheese is formed into small rectangular pieces of cheese which are left on the little straw-mat for about one day. They are then removed to be dried finally on a platform (*tahaga*, *tafalkat*) made of branches.

Cheese made from fresh milk is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tekemmart*; it is manufactured to very great extent and much in the same fashion as just described from Ahaggar. The abomasum of little kids or lambs to be used for rennet is named *tedeyant*, and the Ayr Tuareg add parts of an annual plant known as *ekoklmaren* (*Caralluma Mouretii*) in order that the milk may curdle quickly. The Ayr Tuareg also use little mats plaited from stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) to press and form the rectangular pieces of cheese; the Ayr Tuareg make mats (*tésebert*) (Fig. 168) particularly for this purpose, while the Ahaggar Tuareg generally use an old piece of a tent mat (*éseber*). In Ayr the rectangular pieces of cheese are dried on bunches of hay placed in trees (acacias), or on the top of the mat-covered tents.

The *takammart* or *tekemmart* type of cheese made from fresh milk is in high esteem as food among all pastoralists of the Sahara. It is generally eaten when newly-made and soft, though it may also be stored. The Ahaggar Tuareg make this type of cheese only when milk is plentiful, while the Ayr Tuareg manufacture it most of the year though the main season of cheese-making is the season of *akasa*.

Fig. 156. Skin bag of the *dmessekey* type used to sour milk before churning. Ahaggar, the *Aſoh-en-tahlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.37 m high. (F.M. 170).

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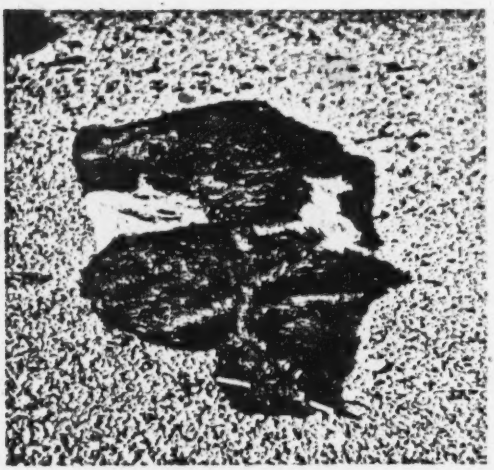

Fig. 215a. The bag to be prepared is filled with a mixture of water and *tihet* (bark) and is placed in the sun. The openings are provisionally closed by sewing with straw.

Preparation of a water bag (*abeyor*).

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Fig. 215b. The tanned water bag is suspended for drying. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ball* tribe.